and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

/171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Ămăstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore, which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat. 411 563 567 726

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of concubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this. 563 567 595

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know how to use the following curious custom in use among the Tuareg. 563 567 685

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case brought before a marabout or a cadi. [692]

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Mournou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:- pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 138), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amrdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not [178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can [684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were [648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if [584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's [591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him [701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela [727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage [721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr. *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
●685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

685 646 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 * 492 [835] The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 * 492 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding. But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskobbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskobbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadel*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tiǰemt*). Ahaggar, the *Ikiaw-en-tawsit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasili-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Ulleh* tribe (*Iwillemmeden*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
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[613] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

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[428] The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *ejwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[18] *Iwillemmeden Kel Denneg*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*ddeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the